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One encounters in even the oldest inscriptions and the oldest images much that is reminiscent of India. Sanskrit, an Indian script, Buddhist religious formulas, and Brahmanic rites appear to have been known. The rulers – for example Kesarī – (*circa* 913 A.D.), the first of a dynasty called Warmadewa[3] – have Sanskrit names. There are images of the Hindu gods (a Çiwa, for example, and a few centuries later a four-headed Brahmā) and of characters from the great epics (for instance Arjuna, one of the heroes of the *Mahābhārata*). The oldest dated inscription is from 882 A.D., and the oldest images are probably from the period of the eighth to the tenth century.[4]

In brief, the data now available are sufficient to convince scholars in the field that Bali had its share in the great stream of Indian culture that washed over the southeast Asian mainland and Indonesia in the first centuries of our era. In this connection it is customary to speak of 'Hinduization' and 'Hindu' periods in the history of the lands concerned. These terms should not be understood as being restricted to Hinduism as a religion, however. The Buddhist temple Barabudur in central Java, for instance, is considered as one of the 'Hindu' monuments of early Java. 'Hindu', then, is in this connection a designation for everything related to the culture and religion of the India of that day. Java had such a Hindu period, called the Hindu-Javanese; Sumatra, Cambodia, and Burma likewise. And Bali also appears to belong in that list.

How this Hindu influence is to be explained cannot be said with any certainty. It is clear that it had something to do with the commercial relations which India maintained with China and other lands of the Far East. That trade brought knowledge of India and contact with and respect for Indian culture and religion to Sumatra and Java. However, the nature of the Hindu elements found in Indonesia makes it highly improbable that their diffusion can be explained solely or chiefly by trade. Rather, it is now assumed that Indonesian rulers wished to associate themselves with Indian culture, and for that purpose were able to attract Brahmanic priests, the representatives of Indian culture *par excellence*, to

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their courts. The priests gave to such an Indonesian ruler a Brahmanic consecration, and often a genealogy tracing back to the Indian gods or heroes. In that way they strengthened the ruler's position in the eyes of foreign traders. Moreover the Brahmins helped to model the court, chancellery, and administration after those of India.[1] Alongside these political and economic factors there were also religious factors of importance. The Indian Brahmins played a decisive rôle in the Hindu soteriological doctrines, and in Indonesia also they appeared in this rôle.[2]

The Balinese data fit into this general picture of Hinduization. Whether we may assume that trade was an initial link in the case of Bali is, however, an open question. Regarding the other Hinduized regions we know that there were a number of what were for those times important commercial centres where international trade was carried on. But there is no evidence of the sort for Bali in the early period, and later, roughly from the fifteenth century on, the data point in the opposite direction: Bali played what was at best a subordinate rôle in the international trade of the time.

If trade is to be ruled out, are we to think in terms of an indirect influence, *via* a neighbouring land that was already Hinduized? For the early period there is no evidence either way. From the eleventh century onwards, however, this possibility definitely needs to be taken into consideration, primarily on the basis of epigraphic data. The earliest inscriptions were written in Old Balinese (a language clearly the ancestor of present-day Balinese) interspersed with a great many Sanskrit terms. But shortly after 1000 A.D. the situation changed. From that time onwards inscriptions written in Old Javanese began to appear. From this it can be deduced that by then Old Javanese had become the language of court and administration on Bali. This would point towards a strong influence of the Hindu-Javanese realms and their culture on Bali. In keeping with this is the fact, substantiated by Javanese and Balinese inscriptions, that in that period a ruler of the Balinese dynasty of the Warmadewas was married to an

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In the Gelgel period there must have been a sort of feudal system: the rulers awarded lands to the peers of the realm as apanages. Most of those lands were apparently located in fertile central Bali, which was probably populous even then.

The 'land north of the mountains' (Buleleng), Karangasĕm, and the central Balinese mountain areas stayed outside the reach of the system; even more so did Jĕmbrana. The power of the rulers was uncertain in those regions (in various of which, as the reader will remember, resistance had been strongest at the time of the Majapahit expeditions).[44] Hence the ruler and his officials interfered much less in the *desa* system, with the result that many institutions in those areas were preserved in an older form.[45] The inhabitants there are sometimes referred to as *Bali-aga*, 'original Balinese'. The term is somewhat misleading, for it might give the impression that they are free of Hindu influences, which is not the case. Old Balinese edicts dating from the tenth century have been found in mountain *desas* such as Sĕmbiran, Tĕrunyan, and Dausa[46] – edicts dealing with those villages themselves or other places in the vicinity. This fact points towards the existence of an influence from the older Hindu-Balinese royal sphere. The later, Javanese-Balinese influences, however, have been much weaker in these mountain regions than in the region of the great apanages. The *Bali-aga*, then, should not be characterized as 'original Balinese', but as 'non-Javanized Hindu-Balinese'.[47]

The period of relatively undisturbed development came to an end first in northern Bali. In 1849 that part of the island was forced to recognize Dutch suzerainty, and in 1882 it was placed under the direct administration of the Netherlands East Indies government. The southern Balinese principalities followed in the first years of the twentieth century. Bali was made a part of the federal state of East Indonesia in 1946, and together with the rest of the state was incorporated in the unitary Republic of Indonesia in August, 1950.

Let us, on the basis of a few clear-cut examples, now attempt to form a picture of the interplay of the elements of Balinese culture.

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735 lately, in places frequented by tourists, people are beginning to
177 ask for money as a return for a service. Ordinarily even a child would be scolded and shamed by anyone who heard him ask something from a stranger. A gift must be reciprocated and we
431 were often embarrassed by the return presents of our poor neigh-
123 bours. We gave Ktut Adi, a little dancer of eight, a scarf of no great value; one day soon after she came to us with a basket of rice, some eggs, and a live chicken, carried by her mother because the load was too great for her. Children of the neighbourhood that Rose had treated for infected wounds always came back with presents of fruit, cakes, or rice which they handed casually to our house-boy, never mentioning them to us, as if they wanted to avoid making a demonstration of their generosity. Even children have a strong sense of pride.

565 The aristocracy is despotic and arrogant, but the ordinary
181 people, although used to acknowledging the superiority of their masters, are simple and natural in an unservile and unsubmissive way. By the threat of passive disobedience and boycott they kept
[626] the princes from overstepping their bounds. Europeans com-
[648] plain that the Balinese make bad servants; they are too free, too frank, and do not respond to the insolent manner that the white man has adopted as " the only way to deal with natives."

577 Their moral code consists in maintaining their traditional behaviour, observing their duties towards their fellow villagers and paying due respect to the local feudal princes. Among themselves they are kind and just, avoiding unnecessary quarrels and solving their disputes by the simplest and most direct methods.

621 The villages are organized into compact boards or councils,
476 independent of other villages. Every married man — that is,
[623] every grown man — is a member of the council and is morally and physically obliged to co-operate for the welfare of the community. A man is assisted by his neighbours in every task he cannot perform alone; they help him willingly and as a matter of duty, not expecting any reward other than the knowledge that, were they in his case, he would help in the same manner. In this way

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the neighbouring islands of Lombok and Sumbawa. In 1510 the Portuguese adventurer Alphonso de Albuquerque discovered Sumatra and made voyages to the "Spice Islands" to procure valuable cargoes of pepper, cloves, and nutmeg, all the while fighting pirates, hostile Malays, and Javanese. In 1597 a fleet of Dutch ships, headed by a former employee of the Portuguese, Cornelius Houtman, discovered Bali. He and his men fell in love with the island and made excellent friends with the king, a good-natured fat man who had two hundred wives, rode in a chariot drawn by two white buffaloes which he drove himself, and owned fifty dwarfs whose bodies had been distorted into resemblance of kris handles. After a long sojourn in the island, some of the Dutch returned to Holland to report the discovery of the new "paradise"; others refused to leave Bali. The news created such a sensation in Holland that in 1601 the trader Heemskerk was sent to Bali with presents of all sorts for the king, who in turn presented him with a beautiful Balinese lady.

The relations between the Indies and Europe later were darkened by the appearance of the Dutch East India Company, an organization of merchants and traders whose goal was the unlimited exploitation of the islands. They promoted wars, seized lands, established monopolies of opium (if a native was caught selling opium he was put to death), and collected revenues from the natives that were even greater than those exacted by the local princes. The traders used every possible means to gain the favour of the Radjas in order to control Bali, bringing gifts to them of Persian horses, gilt chairs, red cloth, wines, brass candelabra, and so forth. Not meeting with much success, they resorted to political intrigue, selling arms to the enemies of the Balinese while offering assistance against those they had armed, in exchange for concessions.

Meantime the Balinese had completed the conquest of Lombok (1740). There the Dutch tried to influence the Balinese governors to become independent of Bali and join the "Honourable East India Company." After two centuries of ruthless opera-

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175 1648 tion the company, already bankrupt and decayed, attracted such unfavourable criticism that the Dutch Government was forced to assume control, and in 1798 the Dutch East India Company went into inglorious collapse.

In the following years trouble started for the Balinese; the sultan of Surakarta, in Java, ceded to the Dutch " rights " he did not have over Bali, but they took no steps to claim them. The Balinese princes recognized Dutch supremacy, but retained their local autonomy. In 1846 the question of the ancient right of the Balinese to confiscate the cargo of wrecked ships brought the first Dutch military expedition against North Bali, which, after a series of battles, ended in Dutch control over the northern states of Buleleng and Djimbrana in 1882. The Balinese princes were made to sign a treaty in which piracy, slavery, and the exercise of shore rights were forbidden and in which they promised not to permit the establishment of any other European power in Bali.

In 1885 there was a rebellion of Sasaks, the vassals of the Balinese in Lombok, while in Bali internal wars broke out among the various Radjas. Sasaks were brought to Bali and forced to fight. During these wars the united states of Badung and Klungkung annexed Mengwi and they all turned against the troublesome Radja of Gianjar. The Sasak chiefs complained to the Dutch, asking to be freed from the tyranny of the Balinese princes. The Dutch were becoming alarmed at the friendly advances of the Balinese towards the English, and officials were sent to negotiate a peace. They were unsuccessful and even apologies demanded for insults to the envoys were refused.

THE LOMBOK WAR

In 1894 the Dutch landed an elaborate military expedition in Lombok and sent an ultimatum to the Lombok Radja, who was under the influence of Gusti Gedé Djilantik, Radja of Karangasem, a friend of the Dutch. The terms of the ultimatum were accepted and the Radja agreed to pay a " war indemnity " of one million guilders. Conferences were held between the Balinese

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and the Sasaks, and everybody seemed satisfied. The army remained in the capital for a few weeks giving military demonstrations while waiting for the payment of the indemnity. Soon there were rumours of dissension between the old Radja and the princes, and the Balinese began to appear less friendly; the camps were no longer visited by the princes, and one day the women did not even come to market. This was the signal for the Dutch to prepare for the defence.

That night they were attacked by fierce rifle-fire through holes made in the thick walls of the palaces and houses around the Dutch encampments. Orchestras played continuously and all night the great alarm-drums were beaten. The Dutch returned the fire as well as they could in the darkness, trying to demolish the stone walls of the palace, but without much success. Captain W. Cool, an eyewitness, relates: "The noise was deafening and bullets were falling fast around us. . . . Added to all this was the ear-splitting sound of the tomtoms and the war cries of the Balinese as an accompaniment to the hammering and boring of the walls." Every bivouac was besieged by an invisible foe. On the dawn of the third day the army retreated towards the sea, leaving nearly one hundred dead and three hundred wounded. Among the dead was General Van Ham, second in command. A regiment was taken prisoner and was marched along the lines of Balinese soldiers; Captain Cool tells us that "they were all armed, yet they maintained a respectful attitude. Not an offensive word was said or a threatening hand raised." The starving prisoners were fed with white rice and drinks of orange and coconut water. The wounded were provided with fresh bandages. After a sojourn in the palace they were released with a letter from the Crown Prince stating that he was releasing the prisoners as a gesture of friendship and as proof that he wished to end hostilities. But the letter was ignored by the commander-in-chief, and at the seashore the decimated army erected new fortifications protected by the warships at anchor.

When the news of the defeat reached Java and Holland, the

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press flared up with indignation against "the sinister treachery" of the Balinese. Immediately large reinforcements of men and heavy artillery were sent from Java. New fortifications were built and the Sasaks were forced to fight against the Balinese. The offensive was started against the capital, the army advancing cautiously, bombarding the villages along the way, and burning them to the ground after the Sasaks had looted them. Mataram and Tjakra Negara, the two residences of the princes, were shelled and the Dutch succeeded in blowing up their arsenals and rice stores. The city of Mataram was captured first. Men and women, caught unawares, stabbed themselves rather than fall into the hands of the soldiers. Once occupied, Mataram was ordered razed to the ground. Every wall was laid low and all the trees chopped down. The work of destruction took over a month. Next came the attack on Tjakra Negara, the last important city of the Balinese in Lombok. They defended it tenaciously, but could not long resist the effects of artillery, and every palace and house that showed resistance was soon in flames. The Crown Prince, Anak Agung Ktut, the greatest enemy of the Dutch, was killed. The city was taken, the old Radja captured and exiled to Batavia, where he soon died of a broken heart. Thus ended Balinese rule in Lombok. The new conquest cost the Dutch 214 dead and 476 wounded, besides 246 who died of sickness and fatigue.

CONQUEST OF SOUTH BALI

In Bali, things continued in a state of turmoil. The allied states of Badung, Klungkung, and Bangli united to make war on Gianyar. In 1900 the powerful prince of Ubud, Tjokorde Gedé, influenced the Dewa Manggis, Radja of Gianyar, to ask for help from the Dutch Government. An army was sent immediately to protect Gianyar, which was automatically annexed by the Dutch.

In May of 1904 the small Chinese steamer *Sri Koemala*, coming from Borneo, was wrecked and looted in Sanur, on the south coast of Bali. The owners held the Dutch Government respon-

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sible and demanded three thousand silver dollars' damages and the punishment of those culpable. Official embassies were sent to obtain the amount from the Radja of Badung, Anak Agung Madé, who refused. The dickering went on for two years, but finally the Dutch, angered because the prince could not be made to pay, ordered the closing of Badung to all exports and imports and asked the co-operation of the bordering states. All of the independent princes refused to close their frontiers. That was the beginning of the struggle for supremacy between the Dutch and the Balinese Radjas. The people themselves were, for the most part, indifferent. To them the victory of one side or the other meant chiefly a change of masters, somebody else to whom to pay taxes.

In the fall of 1906 the Radja definitely refused to meet the demands and on the 15th of September a large military expedition landed in Sanur, only three miles from Den Pasar, the capital of Badung. Here the people remained indifferent to the presence of the soldiers, because, being under the influence of the peace-loving Brahmanas, they were unconcerned with the troubles of the Radja. But at dawn of the following day an army of Balinese with golden spears, coming from Den Pasar, made a surprise attack. The fighting went on all day; a few Dutch soldiers were wounded, but hundreds of Balinese were killed in the unequal fight, and by evening the Balinese were forced to retreat. The Dutch remained in Sanur for a few days, occasionally giving concerts for the Balinese, ironically playing the *Sourire d'amour* on their brass band. When the advance on Den Pasar was started, the army was opposed all the way, but when they came to the palace of Kesiman, just outside the town, they found it deserted. There the acting ruler had been killed by a priest in an argument over whether they should oppose the Dutch. It is curious that inside the palace they found two bronze cannon that had belonged to Napoleon, bearing the date 1813 and the Napoleonic "N," together with a number of muskets from 1620.

Early on the morning of September 20 the navy bombarded

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175 Den Pasar, shells falling on the palace and the houses of other
● 648 princes, setting them on fire. This caused the civilian population to flee, leaving the Radja with only about two thousand men. Soon after the bombardment the army was reported near Den Pasar; the Radja expected that the attack would be directed against the main entrance of the palace on the south side, as their military law would require, but unexpectedly the army turned and made for the north. Inside, the household had been worked up to a state of frenzy, almost a trance; everything of value was destroyed and the palace was set on fire. The king, seeing his cause lost, told his followers that to defend the palace was hopeless, but anyone who wished could follow him into a *puputan*, a "fight to the end." The only honourable thing left for him was to die a dignified death, rather than be exiled like the Radja of Lombok, to die away from Bali, and without the proper rituals of cremation. In a moment the Radja, his Pungawas, his generals, and all his relatives, men and women, were ready, dressed in their best and wearing their finest gold krisses. The women were even more enthusiastic than the men; they were dressed in men's clothes, short white loincloths caught between the legs, covered with jewellery, and with their hair loose. They carried krisses and spears broken in half to be used more effectively at close range. At nine in the morning the fantastic procession left the palace, with the Radja at the head, carried on the shoulders of one of his men, protected by his gold umbrellas of state, staring intently at the road in front of him, and clutching in his right hand his kris of gold and diamonds. He was followed by silent men and entranced women, and even boys joined the procession, armed with spears and krisses. They marched on through what is today the main avenue of Den Pasar towards Kesiman, and when they turned the corner, the Dutch regiment was only three hundred yards away. The commander, astonished at the sight of the strange procession, gave orders to halt; Balinese interpreters from Buleleng spoke to the Radja and his followers, begging them anxiously to stop, but they only walked faster. They came

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within one hundred feet, then seventy feet, then made a mad rush at the soldiers, waving their krisses and spears. The soldiers fired the first volley and a few fell, the Radja among them. Frenzied men and women continued to attack, and the soldiers, to avoid being killed, were obliged to fire continually. Someone went among the fallen people with a kris killing the wounded. He was shot down, but immediately another man took his place; he was shot, but an old woman took the kris and continued the bloody task. The wives of the Radja stabbed themselves over his body, which lay buried under the corpses of the princes and princesses who had dragged themselves over to die upon the body of their king. When the horrified soldiers stopped firing, the women threw handfuls of gold coins, yelling that it was payment for killing them; and if the liberating bullet did not come soon enough, the maddened women stabbed themselves. When they had nearly all been killed, a new group approached, led by the Radja's brother, a twelve-year-old boy who could hardly carry his spear. The interpreters again tried to stop them, but were ignored, and they were all shot down.

The way to the burning palace was now free, except for the hundreds of corpses that covered the road. Everywhere lay broken spears and krisses with gold handles studded with enormous diamonds and rubies in pools of blood. On the side of the Dutch there was only one man killed, a sergeant stabbed by a woman.

In the afternoon of the same day the army attacked the palace of the neighbouring Radja of Pemetjutan, but the Balinese met them with artillery-fire that caused some losses among the Dutch. Near the palace another *puputan* took place: the insane old Radja, dressed in yellow silks and carried in a gold sedan chair, followed by his wives and Pungawas, went out to meet the army after setting the palace on fire. Soon all were killed. When the palace was taken, the last obstacle to the conquest of Badung, the tired soldiers returned to Den Pasar, but their victory tasted of a terrible moral defeat.

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The people returned to their houses. All night long, hurried wholesale cremations were held while the Dutch buried their dead. The next morning a young Pungawa came to see the commander. He said he had been away the day before and had missed being killed with the rest, so he asked to be shot by the soldiers. When he was refused, he drew his kris and stabbed himself before he could be prevented. The Balinese then gave up their arms.

A few days later Gusti Ngurah Agung, the Radja of Tabanan, came with his son to speak to the Resident. He had changed his gold umbrella for a green one in sign of submission. He wanted to surrender on condition that he be allowed to retain his title and have the same rights as the Radja of Gianyar and Karangasem; Resident Liefrink replied coldly that he must be deported from Bali until an answer to his request came from the Government. He would be held in the palace for the night and on the next day would embark for Lombok. Next morning both the Radja and his son were found dead; the son was poisoned, supposedly by an overdose of opium, and the old Radja had cut his throat with a blunt *sirih* knife. Thus the state of Tabanan fell to the Dutch.

Two years later the Dewa Agung of Klungkung remained the only independent Radja, but he was " insolent," and the stories of Lombok, Den Pasar, and Pemetjutan were repeated; an armed force was sent to punish him and another great *puputan* took place in the main avenue of Klungkung; the highest Radja in Bali was killed, with his whole family.

Two of the women who survived the Den Pasar *puputan*, sisters of the Radja, were aunts of Gusti Oka, the young prince in whose house we lived. They are now white-haired old ladies, but they remember every detail of the struggle and one showed me two bullet wounds in her side. Gusti was only two years old at the time and he was rushed to another village with his little cousin, the present Regent of Badung, but Gusti's father was killed and his house destroyed. Another relative of the Radja

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who survived the massacre told us she fainted when she was cut in the face by the spear of a falling man. All she remembers was "the cool hissing of the bullets" in her ears; she added: "like music." [1]

The army remained in Bali until 1914, when it was considered that Balinese resistance was sufficiently controlled, and the army was replaced by a police force. The Dutch then reorganized the Government of the island along the lines it had under the Radjas; those who had been favourable to the Dutch, their allies in Gianyar and Karangasem, were allowed to retain their autocratic rights over the people of their districts and were given certain supremacy over other ruling princes, mostly the descendants of the former Radjas. They were made puppet regents, responsible to the Government for the behaviour of their subjects and for the payment of taxes, which they collect through relatives whom they appoint as chiefs, *pungawa*, of the districts under their control. Each regent is, however, supervised by a Dutch Controller, who is supposed to act as his "elder brother" and whose orders are called recommendations.

NOTE ON MAYA DANAWA

JANE BELO in "A Study of Customs Pertaining to Twins in Bali" (see Bibliography) quotes the legend of Maya Danawa and the origin of Delam Bedaulú from the Balinese manuscript *Usana Bali:*

"It was long ago, in the time when the great mountain, the Gunung Agung, had just been made. A fierce and terrible Detya, Maya Danawa, was in power over the land. He was jealous of the gods and did not allow the people to give them offerings. The gods banded together to fight the demon and a war ensued in which many people were killed.

"Finally Batara Indra was able to overpower Maya Danawa, but in killing him his plan was to make him alive again, dividing him into a male and female part, to become the first Radja of Bali. The spirit of the demon was placed in a coconut flower, and on the slopes of the Gunung Agung the gods came and blessed it, and out of the coconut flower they

[1] The official details, dates, and so forth of the conquest of Den Pasar come from the account of a witness, Dr. H. M. Van Weede: *Indische Reisherinneringen* (Haarlem, 1908).

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most of the night was spent watching cockfights, plays, and dances. 517

Most important of *bandjar* property is a little communal temple (*pamaksan*). If the *bandjar* grows beyond the function of village quarters, or "ward," its *pamaksan* temple may become a temple of "origin"; then they will build their formal village temple (*pura desa*), their temple of the dead, out in the cemetery, and, having the three reglementary temples (*kahyangan tiga*) that every complete community needs, they will ask for independence from the village and will become a full-fledged free *desa*. 346 778 621

In the old mountain villages the *desa* system has remained untouched by the influence of the princes. Before the advent of the Dutch, they controlled their states through district landlords, the Pungawas, usually members of the prince's family, who appointed lesser tax-collectors, the Perbekel, one in every village. A Perbekel ruled only with the interest of his master in mind, often disregarding the local *adat*, with the result that he was regarded as an intruder and remained a complete outsider in the affairs of the village. Thus the system was saved because these agents had to be content with collection of taxes and the enforcement of princely orders. But the Balinese could always find regulations to curtail the power of the princes, and if their demands interfered too much with traditional institutions, the people simply boycotted them and refused to obey. 184 621 631 [626]

Following the conquest of Bali, the Dutch found the *desas* divided into many small spheres of influence: the princes, the *desa* chiefs, *bandjar* heads, and so forth. In the hasty reorganization of the political system they centralized the Government for control of the complex conglomerate of *desas*, logically enough, following the system of the princes, creating Government districts headed by Dutch officials assisted by the former landlords. They preserved the prince (Regent), the Pungawa, and the Perbekel to see that the taxes were paid. Finding the *desa-bandjar* relationship incompatible with Western management, they re- 631 621 648

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621 631 648 divided the villages, often in an arbitrary way, and renamed the towns and *bandjars*, ignoring their traditional connections. The *desa* became simply any " big " village, and the *bandjar* was simply " hamlet " or " quarter of the village." What was close by was joined together, and what was separated by distance was cut off, forming the so-called Government *desas* and Government *bandjars*. There are cases of *bandjars* merged into one, and small *desas* degraded into *bandjars* or joined with other small *desas* to make a large *desa* worthy of the name, despite the fact that it might have more than one *balé agung*. These new villages exist in official documents, but not in the Balinese mind, forcing the people to make a strong distinction between the " Adat Desa " and the " Gouvermen' Desa."

LAW AND JUSTICE

627 A " bad man " does not have a chance in the strict communal Balinese system. Everyone is so dependent on the co-operation and goodwill of others that he whose conduct is not good, or who in some way fails to be in harmony with his community, becomes a boycotted undesirable.

681 In Bali moral sanctions carry greater weight than physical punishment; light faults bring automatic fines, the confiscation of property, or temporary suspension from the society; but the punishment for major offences range from the dreaded boycott from all *desa* activities to permanent exile, total banishment from the village. Since the death penalty has been abolished by the Dutch, the fearful formula of declaring a man " dead " is now the capital punishment. A man expelled from his village cannot be admitted into another community, so he becomes a total outcaste — a punishment greater than physical death to the Balinese mind. It [762] often happens that a man who has been publicly shamed kills himself.

671 In the *adat* law of every village the line of conduct for every act of the villagers is carefully set down. In a general way, the most serious crimes are those that seriously impair the well-being of the

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423 621 631 Alongside the Balinese commune is the contrasting influence of mediæval princes who have tried, without success, to abolish the village organization and the religion that motivated it, to replace it by feudal rule with an official cult under their control. Passive disobedience at first, and Dutch supremacy later, left the princes in the position of impoverished nominal aristocrats, who, despite the fact that they represent the Government, are excluded from the administrative management of the villages. [474] Through their co-operative societies, the *bandjars* and *subaks*, the Balinese have recaptured some of their village autonomy. However, the communal system has suffered considerably in the feudal territories where the princes have held sway; the communal lands sometimes became part of the estate of the local prince, who gave grants of lands to his vassals in exchange for servitude, and gradually ownership of the land in these districts became more and more individualistic, developing a class of organized small landowners. Village ground cannot legally be disposed of, but *sawas* have been pawned when there was great need of ready cash. Land has never become a commodity, however, and today the agriculturist is protected to a certain extent by the law forbidding the sale of agricultural lands to foreigners, [648] perhaps one of the wisest laws passed by the Dutch Government.

511 556 Economic inequality is not as striking in Bali as elsewhere. Until recently almost everybody wore the same type of clothes, all went barefoot and lived in thatched houses. At first sight they all seemed happy and prosperous. The majority of the population has a roof, enough to eat, and some big silver dollars buried under the earthen floor of the sleeping-quarters. Yet there are some who are extremely poor while others are considered rich. There are people without lands or a house of their own, living a parasitic life of slavery, a remnant of feudalism, attached to the household of a master and eating whatever is given them. A rich family is one who has *sawas*, a house with a gate of carved stone, a large rice granary, an ornate family temple, and a well-built pavilion for guests. They may have some fine cloths put away

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other, both streaming blood, until one staggered and fell dead, the winner crowing and still pecking furiously at the corpse.

It frequently happens that both cocks are wounded but the survivor is healed and often lives to fight many battles. A cock is disqualified if it runs away at the beginning; otherwise the fight is to death. When a cock is wounded but it is considered that it can go on fighting, its owner gives it strength to go on with special massages, blowing his own breath into its lungs; then it is not rare for a badly wounded cock to come out triumphantly over an apparent winner. Should both cocks refuse to fight, they are placed inside a basket, where one cannot avoid being killed. Hundreds of roosters are sacrificed in this manner in every village on the day before *nyepí*.

The Balinese cannot understand the attitude of the sentimental Dutch, who have forbidden cockfights. To them a rooster is as dead in the kitchen as after a cockfight; besides, cockfights are staged as a religious duty, as a sport that gives an opportunity for a little gambling and as a way to provide food for the next day. The dead roosters are taken home and cooked for the *nyepí* meal. After the cockfights, in Den Pasar it is customary to give a banquet for the children of each *bandjar*, a double row of beautifully decorated trays filled with sweets and cakes served to them by the *bandjar* officials.

Before sunset the evil spirits had to be lured and concentrated at the great offering, the *metjaru*, then cast out by the powerful spells of the priests of the village. Facing towards *kangin*, the East of Den Pasar, were tall altars filled with offerings: one for the Sun and for the Trinity (*sanggah agung*), one for the ancestors, and a third for the great *kalas*, the evil gods. In the centre of the ground an elaborate conglomeration of objects was arranged: food of all sorts, every kind of strong drink, money and house utensils, hundreds of containers of banana leaf with a sample of every seed and fruit that grew on the island, and a piece of the flesh of every wild and domestic animal in Bali (a small piece of dried tiger flesh was pointed out); all arranged

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grass, but it has been discovered that it disappears quickly with salycilic alcohol from the Chinese druggists. Itches are cured with lemon juice, coconut oil, and frequent baths in hot water in which *legundí* and *ketawalí* leaves are macerated.

People after middle age complain of "bone trouble," rheumatism, due to the extreme humidity of the island, and as a preventive they wear bracelets of *kayú ulí*, a sort of black coral from Borneo. It is said that the pain can be driven out by marking the feet with a hot iron, which does not hurt the patient because "the teeth of the fire are taken away by a *mantra*." Headaches are cured by massage, but it helps to spray the forehead with a mixture of crushed ginger and mashed bedbugs. For stomachache they drink the red infusion of *medarâh* bark from Java. A cough is relieved by drinking an infusion of *blimbing buluh* flowers mixed with parched, grated coconut, also sprayed externally on the throat. Head colds are cured by massage, but it is good for sneezing to smell a piece of *telor* bark three times. Such are the most common of domestic remedies, but for each illness there are seven medicines used consecutively when the preceding ones fail to give relief. The keystone of Balinese medicine is the principle of "hot" and "cold," irritating and refreshing, also applied to foods. Thus a heated or irritated condition is cured by a cooling medicine.

The Balinese are helpless in the case of infected wounds, but it is always a means of breaking the ice with a foreign neighbour to ask for medicine for an infected cut covered with a greenish mess and wrapped in a dirty rag. Rose treated many such cases soon after our arrival in Belaluan and eventually we had a great circle of faithful friends who brought presents of food to show their appreciation. On our return trip we found that the full responsibility for such cases had fallen on our American friends Jack and Katharane Mershon, former dancers, who had settled on the malarial Sanur coast, where they conducted an improvised but effective free clinic. They spent their spare money on medicines and took turns every day treating scores of people,

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759 often coming from afar with the most frightful sores. The dis-
● 648 interested work of the Mershons made them the idols of the
752 neighbourhood and they are known only as *tuan doctor* and *nyonya doctor*. There is of course a fine modern hospital in Den Pasar, but the Balinese prefer the more informal, sympathetic clinic of the Mershons.

ADDITIONAL NOTES

773 1. *Rangda and Barong.* The origin of the fascinating Rangda is now con-
754 fused, fantastic myth, a sample of which is the following tale as it was told to me by an old man of Den Pasar:

A concubine of King Erlangga gave birth to a pair of pigs, a dreadful omen of approaching calamity. The Brahmanas were consulted and they advised turning the pigs loose in the forest. The pigs played havoc with the trees, and to prevent further destruction, Sanghyang Berawi (Begawati) turned them into two beautiful women, whom she named Tjumpu Mas and Tanting Mas. She gave them a small book of *lontar* palm and ordered them to study the powerful magic formulas contained in it. Tjumpu Mas decided to remain in the jungle, keeping the book with her, but Tanting Mas went to the country of Lemah Tulis, where she married the holy man Begawan Mpú Gandu. "Because the holy man could not bear the fire of Tanting Mas," he went to live in the forest as a hermit. There he met an *endéh*, the dancing flame of a witch, that turned out to be Tjumpu Mas, his wife's sister, now a proficient witch. So impressed was the holy man with her beauty that he married her on the spot, but on the following day, when he went to perform his daily purification, he found among his cleansing paraphernalia the entrails of a corpse, freshly dug out of the cemetery by Tjumpu Mas. Enraged at the profanation, the priest declared a magic war on the witch and turned into a great cremation tower to intimidate her. She became fire that consumed the tower, leaving her a *rangda*, a widow. The Rangda later became pregnant, changed her name to Sirowalú (also meaning "widow"), and lived on as queen of the forest of Alas Trung in the country of Dirah, becoming known as the "Widow from Dirah" (Rangda ning Dirah, or Girah). Her child was born in the jungle and grew up to be the famed beauty Ratna Menggali.

There are many varied versions of the tale, in one of which Tanting Mas and Tjumpu Mas are the result of the dreaded male and female twins, Tanting Mas the male who struggles with his twin sister for

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764 their wives, and the common people were not interested in a
762 practice that was foreign to them. There were two sorts of
[564] widow-sacrifice: one reserved for noblewomen, the *mesatia* (" truth," " fidelity "), in which the noble widows stabbed themselves as they jumped into the same fire with their dead husbands; the other, for the prince's low-caste wives and concubines, the *mebela* (" to die together with the master "), the one described by Friederich, which consisted in jumping into another
[775] fire apart to be burned alive. A woman who died in *mesatia* became a *Satiawati*, " The True One," a deity.

From the time their decision was made, the widows were regarded as already dead and deified. They lived a life of constant pleasures, exempt from all duties and constantly attended by the other wives. Their feet were not supposed to touch the impure ground and, like goddesses, they were carried everywhere, lavishly dressed and half-entranced. A Brahmanic priestess was constantly at their side, encouraging them to their sacrifice with flowery descriptions of the beauties of life among the gods. Friederich tells that when the time came, they were so thoroughly hypnotized that " they jumped into the fire as if it were a bath."

762 However shocking this practice may seem to us, it is not diffi-
764 cult to understand why it was acceptable to the Balinese; the
775 scriptures not only sanctioned it, but even encouraged the sacrifices, and to the victims it was a short cut to attain the higher spiritual state ever so much more important than their insignificant physical life on this earth. Both the early Dutch narrative and Friederich make it clear that no compulsion was used and that the women to be sacrificed had to make their decision by the eighth day after their husband's death. They could neither withdraw nor volunteer later.

● [648] The Dutch did all that was in their power to stamp out this
178 practice and set a strict prohibition on widow-sacrifices. The last
764 official cremation in which a woman was burned took place just
762 after the conquest of South Bali; we were present, however, at a cremation in Sukawati at which we were told by a reliable in-

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CHAPTER XII

MODERN BALI AND THE FUTURE

"ISN'T BALI SPOILED?" is invariably the question that greets the returned traveller from Bali — meaning, is the island overrun by tourists, and are the Balinese all wearing shirts? The questioners are visibly disappointed to hear of big hotels, fine roads, and motor-cars; there is still enough of the Robinson Crusoe in travellers to make each one of them want to be the "only" white man among picturesque semi-naked, dark-skinned savages, although they would preferably see them from a motor-car or a hotel veranda.

Bali was only conquered by the Dutch in 1908, but long before that the libraries of Holland had been filling slowly with scholarly volumes on the literature, the archæology, and the religion of Bali. However, the remote little island only became news to the rest of the Western world with the advent, a few years ago, of a series of documentary films of Bali with a strong emphasis on sex appeal. These films were a revelation and now everybody knows that Balinese girls have beautiful bodies and that the islanders lead a musical-comedy sort of life full of weird, picturesque rites. The title of one of these films, *Goona-goona*, the Balinese term for "magic," became at the time Newyorkese for sex allure.

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The newly discovered " last paradise " became the contemporary substitute for the nineteenth-century romantic conception of primitive Utopia, until then the exclusive monopoly of Tahiti and other South Sea Islands. And lately travel agencies have used the alluring name of Bali to attract hordes of tourists for their round-the-world cruises that make a one-day stop on the island. On this day the tourists are herded to the hotel in Den Pasar to eat their lunch, buy curios, and watch hurried performances by bored " temple dancers " — ordinary village actors who hate to play in the midday heat. The show over, the tourists are rushed back to their ships in numbered cars, satisfied to have seen Bali. An average of five or six such cruises unload every winter some fifteen hundred round-the-world tourists that leave the Balinese puzzled as to why all these madmen come from so far for only a day. They would never willingly leave their island, and once an old woman remarked that surely the foreigners must have done something at home that forced them to leave their own lands.

The great cruise ships come with twice as many visitors as can be taken care of by the island's limited supply of motor-cars, and half the tourists have to remain on board ship until the others return. On one occasion it was planned to send a troupe of dancers and musicians to entertain those who had to remain on board, but the ship's officers objected; " they could not allow natives to overrun the ship; something might be stolen." They were persuaded that the Balinese were an honest people and they let them come to play and dance for the tourists, but when the show was over and the Balinese started packing to leave, one of their large bronze gongs in a carved wood frame was missing! The gong was never found.

Besides the cruises, every week two K.P.M. boats bring a handful of more enterprising visitors that stay for three days or even for a week or two. They land in the northern port of Buleleng, which has been under direct Dutch control for nearly a

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hundred years. There all the houses and all the temples have tin roofs and all the women wear soiled blouses, "signs of civilization," both supposedly made compulsory by official decree – to the joy of the importers of foreign cloth and of galvanized tin. After the Dutch occupation of Buleleng in 1848, someone decided that the morals of the Dutch soldiers needed protection, and a law was passed requiring the women to wear blouses. Tin roofs also, it is rumoured, were ordered to replace the thatched ones because an official became deeply concerned about the possibility of fires caused by "exploding automobiles." Only three years ago the women of Den Pasar went to market proudly uncovered to the waist, but the princes' wives wore the ugly blouses and soon they became the dictate of fashion. In Den Pasar they now regard those who go habitually with uncovered breasts as "crude mountain people." Young men are growing contemptuous of the simple batik *kain* and headcloth of their forefathers. After dark, in Buleleng and Den Pasar, the equipment of the smart young man-about-town consists of a set of striped pyjamas, a Mohammedan skull-cap, sandals, a bicycle, and a flashlight, although he may still wear flowers behind his ear to stroll on the main street among the food-vendors, the flourishing prostitutes and procurors that haunt the streets around the hotels.

Undoubtedly Bali will soon enough be "spoiled" for those fastidious travellers who abhor all that which they bring with them. No longer will the curious Balinese of the remote mountain villages, still unaccustomed to the sight of whites, crowd around their cars to stare silently at the "exotic" long-nosed, yellow-haired foreigners in their midst. But even when all the Balinese will have learned to wear shirts, to beg, lie, steal, and prostitute themselves to satisfy new needs, the tourists will continue to come to Bali to see the sights, snapping pictures frantically, dashing from temple to temple, back to the hotel for meals, and on to watch rites and dances staged for them. The Balinese

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105 and theatre, is still one of those amazing nations that we shall never know again, one of the so-called primitive countries. It is obvious that the Balinese are by no means a primitive people, although we use the term to differentiate our own material civilization from the native cultures in which the daily life, society, arts, and religion form a united whole that cannot be separated into its component parts without disrupting it; the cultures where spiritual values dictate the mode of living.

Perhaps of even greater importance than the fascinating artistic development, and, in all probability, the factor that motivated the artistic impulse of the population, is the unique manner in which they have solved their social and economic problems. Bali presents the amazing spectacle of a compact nation of over one million hard-working, cultured people living in a deeply-rooted, well-co-ordinated form of agrarian socialism, that has, perhaps because of its elemental directness, until recently, minimized the social and economic evils that today afflict the less fortunate rest of the world. The primitive Balinese socialism flourished parallel to mediæval feudalism despite five centuries of domination by an aristocracy that with all its ruthlessness could not break down the inherent unity and co-operativism of the Balinese communities.

105 564 648 The nobility met with insurmountable passive resistance to any encroachments upon the autonomy of the villages and had finally to content themselves with the collection of tribute from their "vassals." The common people tolerated the princes, but even today they consider them as total outsiders and in most social and administrative matters the villages remain entrenched against all interference from the noble landlords, now appointed as go-betweens between the people and the Dutch Government, [651] mainly to the same office to which the threat of boycott reduced them in the past – the collection of taxes.

105 575 We have seen that the Balinese are fanatics about organization. From childhood to old age a Balinese joins all sorts of societies, from the clubs of "virgin" boys and girls, of actors,

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the equivalent of turning Bali into a living museum, putting the entire island into a glass case for the enjoyment of hordes of tourists. It is a matter of deep regret to see a million intelligent people, living a simple and logical life ruled by an almost unprecedentedly harmonious co-operativism and with a truly great national culture, be turned into an experimental field for missionaries and a stamping-ground for traders.

In adapting foreign ideas to their own culture the Balinese have shown unusual logic and an intelligent power of assimilation. It is to be hoped that those in control of the island's future will see that progress comes to the Balinese naturally and gradually and that they shall be permitted to decide for themselves what they want to absorb without losing their essential qualities and becoming another vanishing race of coolies. The Balinese deserve a better fate; they are too proud and intelligent to be treated with the prevalent arrogance and patronizing attitude of colonizers who regard the native as a shiftless and treacherous inferior whose contact pollutes the "superior" whites and who regard those who show deference to the native as a menace to the prestige – greatly menaced nowadays – of the often bigoted and insolent whites in the colonies.

The Dutch have been often called the best colonizers in the world, and whatever the verdict may be on the principle of colonization, it is lucky for Bali that of the imperialists it is Holland that rules there. The Netherlands Government boasts of a motto of "Rule with love and wisdom" and a policy of non-interference with the native life. There is no doubt that these principles have been followed in Bali whenever their application did not interfere with colonial interests, and the native has derived definite benefits from Dutch rule: land may not be sold for exploitation by strangers, the autocratic powers of the princes have been considerably curtailed, the Balinese have retained their laws and their courts, and the troublesome missionaries were supposedly barred from the island.

Up to now the Dutch have shown a more humanitarian treat-

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ment of the people than most imperialistic colonizers and in many cases have sided with the people against the princes despite the fact that the old system of government of the Radjas was preserved. No more can the despotic princes enslave or exploit their helpless subjects, or as in old times kill or punish savagely someone for such offences as disrespect or disobedience. Only two of the former Radjas, those of Gianyar and Karangasem, because of "loyalty" to the Government, retain their feudal rights — in a considerably limited way, however — while the others are rulers only in name. The Dutch have also stopped the bloody wars between petty chieftains, and widows no longer kill themselves at the pyre of their noble masters. Taxation still burdens the habitually penniless peasants, although now at least they receive certain returns for their money in the form of protection, health services, roads, and so forth.

Dr. Korn (*Adatrecht van Bali*) has already pointed out that the problem confronting the Dutch in regard to Bali is the gradual incorporation of the Balinese into modern life from mediæval isolation through a better understanding of their institutions. Fifty years ago, when Liefrink took charge of the administration of North Bali, he understood that it was best to leave things more or less as they were. But in South Bali the change came more suddenly; the ruling houses collapsed overnight and the Dutch had to reorganize the government of their new conquest hastily and without a thorough knowledge of the island's laws and customs.

In late years the Government of the Netherlands has commissioned scholars like Doctors Korn, Goris, and Stutterheim to make studies for a better understanding of the law, the religion, and the history of Bali. Perhaps through these studies those in charge of the colonial policy of the Netherlands will realize, in the first place, that the Balinese have a great culture that cannot be saved by the admiration of the outside world, but only by commanding the respect and appreciation of the Balinese themselves; that the native arts need no encouragement, simply because they

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it is assumed, antedates the introduction of the Hindu four caste system. The three top castes of the Hinduistic system, Brahmana, Satrya, and Vesya, maintain a feudal order of their own in the areas which they inhabit, referring to the rest of the population as *djaba*, outsiders.[1] At the time of the Dutch conquest in 1906 Bali was ruled by seven kings, called *radja* or *dalem*, who made war upon each other or formed alliances, whichever seemed more to their interest.

Up until the time of the Japanese conquest, in 1942, there had been almost no talk of the abolition of caste, and this only in the towns, Boeleleng and Den Pasar, where Javanese, Arabs, so called "Bombay" merchants, and the Chinese formed a mixed population. Today, contemporaneously with the friction in political circles centering in Java, there appears to carry through a certain continuity in the role of caste and its significance in the society. At the present time the head of the eastern division of the government, whose seat is in Macassar, Celebes, is a Balinese of the very highest princely rank, a *tjokorda;* a man who was educated in Holland, speaks Dutch and English perfectly, has a French wife, and was before the war the representative for Bali at the people's parliament, the *Volksraad,* at Batavia, Java.

The history of the relations of Bali with Java, and through Java with the rest of Indonesia, can be summed up as follows.

11*th century*. The century is marked by the first recorded intermarriage of the royal houses of Java and Bali. King Erlangga, famed in legend, was the son of a Javanese princess and a Balinese *radja*. Through his mother he inherited the Javanese kingdom of Kadiri, which afterward split. Sivaite and Buddhist priesthoods were strong at this time, and, according to legend, the holy men were able to cross over the narrow straits between Java and Bali "riding on a leaf." However this may be, it is clear that communications were established at this time.

14*th century*. The great kingdom of Madjapahit in Java included Bali. When this kingdom fell before the advance of the Mohammedans, refugees from the top level of the Javanese social structure crossed over to Bali. Priests, princes, courtiers, skilled artisans, artists, musicians, dancers, all the literate and the wise who could be saved, escaped to Bali and set up there the stronghold of Hinduism which has resisted Islamization and Christianization down to the present day. In Bali "Madjapahit" is a word to conjure with; everything which is traditionally held in high esteem is referred to as Madjapahit, or

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Maospahit, as the corruption has it. Balinese trace their ancestry to Madjaphit as Americans do to the Pilgrim Fathers. Thousands of temples have shrines named Madjapahit, usually ornamented with the carved head of a deer. Perhaps 90 per cent of the Balinese who give offerings at these temples do not know what the name stands for in historical fact.

14th century to 1906. This was a period of little interchange between Java, a Mohammedanized country, and Bali, which remained Hinduistic. Some trade relations were maintained, chiefly through the intermediacy of the Chinese. All currency in Bali was Chinese cash. Bali, a rich rice producing country, traded its surplus rice to the Chinese for gold, which was in turn beaten up to make golden flowers for the headdresses of children and gold leaf ornamentation for orchestral instruments and ceremonial objects. The "culture system" by which the colonials attempted to modify the agricultural output of Java was not introduced in Bali. With the exception of a small Dutch garrison maintained in the north of the island, Bali was free of European influence, virtually unsubjugated.

1906 *to* 1908. The Dutch, making an incident of the looting of a Chinese vessel which was wrecked on the south shore, landed troops in order to bring the island under control. It was at this time that the famous encounter took place, in which a number of the nobility and their followers marched out in the face of Dutch guns and committed mass suicide, turning their sacred krisses upon themselves. Of the seven ruling kings in Bali, two who resisted were deposed, but close relatives of theirs were installed as regents, so that the continuity of the hereditary ruling line in the several kingdoms was not broken. *Radjas* who capitulated retained their rank, also with the status of regents. Indirect rule was set up, the Dutch official rule linking the island with the administrative center at Batavia, Java.

1908 *to* 1942. Though Bali was now a part of the Netherlands Indies' *Binnenland Bestuur* (Interior Administration), the feeling between Java and Bali continued rather distant. Balinese tended even towards the end of this period, in the 1930's, to look upon Javanese with suspicion. Probably the greatest chasm between these neighboring peoples was the difference in food habits laid down in the differing religions. The Javanese did not eat pig, a favorite Balinese food and one of the chief export products. Dutch ships carrying Balinese pigs

[1] Belo, 1936, p. 12.

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for export sailed to Singapore, bypassing Java, because of the Moslem pig scruple. Javanese, on the other hand, tended to look on the Balinese as boors, a people with a distantly related heritage which might have allowed them to become as "refined" (*aloes*) as the Javanese, but who somehow missed. This sense of distance remained although Balinese students who reached the higher educational levels under the school system were transferred to Java to pursue their studies in normal and professional schools. An *Anak Bali* (Balinese) was still very different from an *Anak Djawa* (Javanese) though they had learned to speak a common language and read the same books—about as different as a Frenchman from an Italian, though not as different as a Frenchman from a German. At a conference on Balinese culture arranged by the Java Institute in 1937, Javanese scholars and princes looked with mild interest and amusement for the first time at Balinese versions of the same legends and themes the Javanese perform, while the Balinese comment was "the Javanese style is so slow we go to sleep."

February 21, 1942 *to March* 2, 1946. During the period of the invasion and occupation by Japanese forces, Balinese resources were depleted to supply Japanese troops; food, clothing, and building materials became very scarce. Japanese propaganda fed in at this time stressed the "Asia for the Asiatics" theme in an attempt to consolidate the feeling of Balinese, Javanese, and other Indonesians to bring them together in a revolt against European influence. It appears that only a few of the younger Balinese in the urban centers found this propaganda to their taste, while the majority tended to consider any proposed Javanization an affront to their religion and an attempt to abolish the caste system about which their whole real and symbolic life is structured. In other words, Balinese responded to Japanese proselyting as they had in former years to any attempts to Mohammedanize or Christianize them, by a reiteration of their desire to be themselves and to preserve their own way of life. Nonetheless, political unrest stirred up at this time created, with the introduction of political factions, a closer tie with Java than had been present under the more peaceable Netherlands' rule.

1946 *to* 1948. After an initial period of chaos, during which the Japanese authorities were no longer present and new authorities had not yet been established, political strife was at its peak, and the action of the young Republican leaders in Java carried reverberations to Bali. To remove the eastern islands from the political impasse in which divided Java found itself, the Dutch forged a new administrative

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center in the island of Celebes, setting up the Balinese prince, Tjokorda Soekawati, at its head and giving him the most skillful and highly trained administrative advisers as assistants. Under this system the complex society of Bali continues to function more or less unchanged, the village autonomy is maintained, the customary law carries through from the past.

Land Ownership. The basic unit of Balinese society, the village unit, has a number of forms, each of which may be referred to a period of history at which, we assume, the form as we find it today was common. The village communities fall into three main types.[2]

1. The old style villages, known as *Bali Aga* villages, show to a greater or less extent Old Indonesian patterns of social organization. Here there is no caste. Generally there is a dual organization, headed by old men. Arrangements for superannuation are provided for in the *adat* (customary law). These villages, comparatively small, follow the pattern most usual for a community of any size or type in Bali: a central compact village divided into individual house courts, and beyond the village outlying fields which are worked by the individual families.

2. In other village communities one or more of the three upper castes are represented, while the majority of the population is casteless. The proportion may run 2 or 3 per cent people with caste to 98 or 97 per cent casteless, or it may be as much as 20 or 30 per cent composed of high caste families, with correspondingly fewer of the ordinary, casteless Balinese making up the total. The ranking village members may be of Brahmana, Satrya, or Vesya caste. The casteless refer to themselves as *Anak Bali* (Balinese people) and as "followers" or "subjects" of the dominant families.

3. Towns are made up of people of caste, the casteless, and foreigners. Generally a town is the capital of the district, seat of the regional government and the palace of the local prince. It is distinguished from the usual village by a street of foreign owned shops and a larger, better supplied market.

It is customary to subdivide communities of all three of these types into *bandjars*, equivalent to wards in American cities or to the Mexican *barrios*. These *bandjars* are spatial divisions, each with a character and a name of its own. They are held together rather loosely as to social organization but linked with many kinship ties, religious ties (being members of the same village temple, for example) and very often by dramatic, dancing, and

[2] For a discussion of the importance of the village community in the whole Indonesian area see *Adat Law in Indonesia* by B. ter Haar edited with an introduction by E. Adamson Hoebel and A. Arthur Schiller.

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> When Erlangga's father died, leaving Mahendradatta a *rangda*, a widow, she conspired to use her band of pupils trained in the black arts to destroy Erlangga's kingdom."

He goes on to quote Stutterheim's statement that her chief grudge against Erlangga was that he failed to persuade his father not to take another wife. And one of the chief motifs of the Rangda stories, reiterated and played out again and again by the Balinese, is the one that Covarrubias mentions—that nobody will marry the daughter of the witch. The story of the epidemic she caused, how she went to the cemetery, dug out corpses, cut them to pieces, ate the members, drank the blood, and decked herself with entrails, all this is dwelt upon in the published version of *De Calon Arang* (*Tjalon arang*) taken from the palm leaf (*lontar*) books." Mpu Bharada, the holy man, figures as the adviser to Erlangga and the champion of right who matches his supernatural powers against those of Rangda.

Vlekke in his history of the whole archipelago speaks of this period also as one marked by cataclysms, heroic ventures, and dire events. The Javanese king, Dharmavamça, Erlangga's father-in-law, he speaks of as "the first historical person of the Indonesian islands of whom we have more than a dim vision."

> He ordered the codification of the Javanese laws and fostered the growth of Javanese literature. He had some of the old Sanskrit texts translated into Javanese . . . saw to it that a Javanese version of the Hindu epic *Mahabharata* was composed . . .
>
> Dharmavamça . . . knew how to combine diplomacy and warfare with cultural activity. Under his rule Javanese authority over Bali was established."

These factors in themselves would be sufficient to cause the celebration of the period in Balinese legend and dramatic plays. The introduction of the strange princess, with her unknown and mysteriously disturbing ways, her different speech and that of her court, the new cultural refinements of dance, dress, and posture, the fresh store of weird supernatural tales, all these must have made upon the relatively uncouth Balinese an impression which they continuously act out up to the present day.

Dharmavamça was not satisfied with extending his sway over Bali. He "forced a principality on the west coast of Borneo to recognize his overlordship." Then he set out to conquer Sumatra and to overthrow the Shrivijaya dynasty. Vlekke speaks of this last campaign:

" Covarrubias, 1937, p. 328.
" Poerbatjaraka, 1926.
" Vlekke, 1943, p. 30.

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In a furious onslaught he (Dharmavamça) carried the war into the central part of that Sumatran empire and for several years during the last decade of the tenth century the throne of Shrivijaya was in constant danger of being overthrown. We know no details, but Dharmavamça's attack must have been beaten off, and Shrivijaya's retaliation, though delayed, was merciless. Its army, reinforced by its vassals from the Peninsula, swept over Java, took the capital, and set fire to the *Kraton*, the royal palace.

After the death of Dharmavamça the power of the Javanese kingdom was crushed and the various local potentates made themselves supreme in their districts. The empire appeared to have disintegrated. . . .

One of the consequences of the weakening of Shrivijaya was the revival of the Javanese kingdom under one of the most remarkable kings of Indonesian history, Airlangga (Erlangga) the son-in-law of the murdered Dharmavamça. This prince has left us, in a long inscription, the story of his amazing adventures. When he came from Bali, where his father was merely a local potentate, and tried to take possession of the throne of Java he naturally was opposed by the local rulers, who preferred the continuation of chaos to vassalage under a strong king.

Airlangga, like King Alfred of England, was obliged to live in hiding in the forests. The long years spent in solitude among the hermits of the woods and mountains were no lost time for the prince, for during them he gathered physical and moral strength to accomplish his task. To this period of abstinence and exercise in self-control the Javanese ascribe his ultimate success. Self-control practiced in conformance to Brahmanistic teaching naturally strengthened Airlangga's will-power, but to the theologians of Indonesia his experience meant more. They saw in it a period for the accumulation of the secret knowledge and power which they believed present in everything on earth and which finds its highest expression in the conscious use by initiates of the magic force. The use of this higher power was in itself no evil. Evil lay only in the misuse of it. Magic power was believed to be possessed by those persons in whom the gods chose to be reborn."

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Vlekke, the sober historian, continues in this vein, until one begins to think there really must have been a stronger magic in those days than in our own. When he modulates to the story of Arjuna and to the famed Arjunavivaha tale which was written down in Erlangga's time, one is left with the feeling that indeed Arjuna and Erlangga may have been one and interchangeable. He continues:

King Airlangga had brought the Javanese state to a new life, but in spite of that his name was often cursed by his successors, who were driven to the use of the most demoniac devices to restore what he had broken by making wrong use of secret knowledge. It is an historical fact that after Airlangga's death (1045?) the unity of the East Javanese kingdom was destroyed. According to the Javanese chronicles the king himself had decided to divide his realm between his two sons. The chronicles say that the king ordered a wise monk named Bharada (compare the Balinese story) who was said to be so well versed in the forces of the supernatural world that he could fly through

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" *Ibid*, pp. 31-33.

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the air, to draw the boundaries between the two parts. Countermagic hindered the completion of the monk's work, but the curse of division and eternal (sic) strife had been laid upon the country."

Wars, then, political strife, disunity, the division of the kingdom, the separation of Kadiri (Daha) and Djanggala (both names well known in Balinese theatre) form the background of events against which the legend of the Rangda has grown up. There is another factor of importance, on which Vlekke barely touches, but which must have been exceedingly conducive to the building up of all these reputations for supernatural power. That is the coexistence at that time in Java, and in Bali, of organized priesthoods serving the Buddhist and Sivaite faiths. Erlangga is said to have brought both priesthoods under government control "by appointing royal superintendants and by making the priests themselves royal officials."[14] One can imagine that during these times of division, conflicting loyalties, the introduction of foreign born princes and princesses into the courts must have been propitious for priestly intrigue and the matching of powers of holiness. Even today in Bali one can see a Sivaite and a Boda (Buddha) high priest practicing their very similar rituals a few feet away from each other at a great ceremonial; yet the followers of each high priest will tell tales of the outstanding power (*sakti*) of his priest, his strength of concentration and intense holiness.

It is a possibility, presented here only tentatively for lack of supporting evidence, that the masked figure of the Rangda was elaborated out of the Durga worship belonging to the Sivaite tradition, while that of the Barong developed in a parallel line from some form of the Buddhist worship. This hypothesis is not belied by the existence in China and in Japan of dragon masks, closely resembling the Balinese Barong in structure, function, and behavior—playing in the villages at New Year's, for example—for it might have been on a wave of Buddhism that the idea of the Barong reached all three countries. The lion-like mask, the body animated by two or more players, the function of the performance as an exorcism for the protection of the village, the giving of food and coins to him in return for his protection, these are common elements found in China and Japan as well. It is quite conceivable that the mask play, traveling with Buddhism, was diffused over this wide area (see Pl. X, a and b). The antagonism, then, of Rangda and Barong when they meet and match their supernatural powers in the Balinese play could contain the deeper

[14] *Ibid*, p. 37.
[15] *Ibid.*

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T 651 [702] [381 cont.] one to four vessels, kora-kora, completely fitted out, armed, and manned by 30 to 40 men. Moreover, some districts (not all) must keep the sultan supplied with the so-called manusia ratus, that is, 100 adult men, who work only for their maintenance and are relieved from time to time. A few other districts must annually deliver to the sultan a certain quantity of rice, sometimes receiving a small compensation in return. Besides this, there are other obligations which we shall leave unmentioned.

T NG 636 651 We can be brief about the administration of the other islands that belong to the territories of Ternate, Tidore, or Batjan. In the main it is the same as that on Halmahera. As far as New Guinea is concerned, it belongs to the territory of the Sultan of Tidore, at least the north and the northwest coasts. The authority of the Sultan of Tidore is in large part fictive, and NG 223 226 even where it is best established it is limited to levying an annual [382] tribute, to bringing in dried skins of paradise birds, trepang, and tortoise shell.

B 101 643 648 636 The principal states on the Lesser Sunda Islands, primarily on Bali, are Hindu states. There are nine: Boeleleng, Djĕmbrana, Karangasem, Kloenkoeng, Gijanjar, generally called Djanjar, Bangli, Badoeng, Mengoewi, and Tabanan. Each of these states, with the exception of Boeleleng and Djĕmbrana, is governed by its own sovereign. By the treaties concluded with the sovereigns in 1849, after the third Bali expedition, they acknowledged that their states are a part of the Netherlands East Indies and, as such, are subordinate to the supremacy of the Netherlands State. Therefore, they have to fly a Netherlands flag above their own on land and sea and the Government's confirmation is required at their enthronement. Otherwise, these sovereigns are entirely free in their administration. Boeleleng and Djembrana are an exception to this. Boeleleng in 1854 and Djĕmbrana in 1856 were withdrawn from the government of their sovereigns and put directly under our authority.

B 643 564 Finally, the government of the states that are still independent must not be omitted. The sovereign should actually be